1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Only the *haatufunga* were allowed on the top of the tomb. The many bones found outside the vault were called the bones of the *fakafeao* or attendants of the great people buried within the vault. Interred in the vault are also Nanasipauu (Female Tui Tonga), Manumataongo (son of Tui Tonga Laufilitonga), and Makahokovalu (the late Tuita's father).

The construction of some royal and some chiefly tombs took place during the lifetime of the prospective occupant, if traditions are to be relied upon. The kings seem in this regard to have evinced something of the interest of the pyramid builders of Egypt. The great Tui Tonga Tuitatui and Uluakimata I (Telea) directed the construction of their own tombs (26, pp. 38, 49). A chief named Lavakahaatuukau had earth transported from Fiji to build his tumulus at Maufanga, near Nukualofa, Tongatabu. He had moved his residence from Mua to Maufanga where he died. The tumulus is about 8 feet deep at its center and 75 feet in diameter. The priest Makaui had constructed at Fakakakai, Haano Island, Haapai, a three-compartment stone vault for the interment of his body, in order to deceive enemies who might attempt to secure his corpse.

Cemeteries other than royal tombs seem to have been utilized by the people of a locality whether or not they were related to one another. Certain cemeteries seem to be used principally for people of the lower orders, while others hold the remains of people of quite different ranks. No doubt Christianity has had a quite democratizing influence in this respect. Husband and wife seem to be interred in the same cemetery as a rule, with the exception of the commoner wives of high chiefs, who were buried apart.

ALBINOS

The prevalence of albinism in Tonga was not determined. I saw an albino child in Haapai. An adult named Manumanu was reported as living at Muitoa, Haano Island, Haapai. Napaa, a man of Lofanga Island, Haapai, was reported to have two albino children. Nothing was learned from informants as to any special attitude towards or treatment of albinos. However, a story recorded (26, p. 192) attributes, at least to the female albinos concerned in the story, anthropophagous habits. Whether this was a general ancient conception I cannot say.

BERDACHES

Little could be learned about berdaches (*fakafafine*, a word which Baker defines as "a monster"). Only a single informant, a man of Nomuka Island, vouchsafed information concerning them. He said that anciently "there were many," but in 1920 he knew of but one, a person of Maufanga, Tonga-

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 0U9 Tonga 0U9

tabu. The informant knew of no special activities of berdaches, except that they took part in fighting like men. The informant conceived the *fakafafine* as hermaphrodites rather than as real males with feminine tendencies. Two adjectives, *fakafefine* and *fakafafine*, are used to characterize "men who have the habits of women and do the work of women."

WARFARE

Some rather lengthy accounts of the campaigns of King George I Tupou, both before and after he became Tui Kanokupolu, were obtained, but very little concerning the earlier Tongan armies:

> In a large army (*tau*) the commander-in-chief merely gave orders and was not expected to participate in the actual fighting unless he so wished. The Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea, who was killed in the fighting in 1799 was carried in a palanquin when travelling with his army and was actually slain in it when hostile troops (*tangata tau*) surrounded him. It is said also that in the army of Vahai of the same troublous period, Vahai did not lead the troops in person, but merely gave orders. In much of the fighting by Taufaahau's (King George I) army, he himself was not the leader on the field of battle. Perhaps the organization of the Christian Tongan legion which fought in Fiji (54, p. 361) under Maafuotuitonga gives some idea of how Tongan armies were officered. The informant Tapueluelu, Mayor of Neiafu, Vavau, who fought at Matuatu, near Taviuni, Fiji, said that there were two hundred men in the Tongan force. The head of the expedition was Maafuotuitonga, of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu. He took no part in the fighting and Vainikolo, a chief of medium rank, was the actual commander (*eikitau*). Vainikolo had several aides called assistant war-chiefs (*tokoni eikitau*) who transmitted his orders. Of these, one was Kisione Vave, a matapule; another was Tui, a chief; and a third was Takulua, a man of uncertain rank. Guns were used by this expedition.

Troops were mixed as to rank, comprising lesser chiefs and matapules as well as commoners. The *eikitau* (commander) was the strongest and best fighter. Ability seems to have played a greater part than nobility in the matter of military leadership. However, the commander-in-chief was usually a person of high rank, but the commanders of the *kongakau* (regiment) and *matanga* (company) seem often to have been matapule men rather than chiefs. Thus Takai, the famous one-eyed leader of Pea, is said to have been a matapule, as was his brother and successor, Fae. Moeakiola, son of Takai and successor of Fae, was also a matapule. The builder of the fortresses of Koloteekiu and Kolovai, Tongatabu, constructed about the beginning of the nineteenth century, was Ohuafi, son of the matapule Motuapuaka. Because Koloteekiu was not large enough to accommodate his people he built Kolovai. Kolonukunuku, near Nukunuku, Tongatabu, was built by a Tui Vakano, chief of Nukunuku before the time of King George I. (The term *kolo* means fortress.)

The earliest traditional Tongan account (some traditional Samoan accounts antedate it) of a war expedition, to capture the assassins of the Tui Tonga Takalaua, makes Kauu'ufonua, who later became Tui Tonga, the

315 648 1971. Nothing came of the search, and the consortium members finally abandoned their efforts in December of 1971. Early in 1975, Japan's largest oil-mining company expressed interest in further oil exploration, and in March of 1975 New Zealand's chief petroleum geologist visited Tonga and said, "Dig deeper!" The first two test holes were only 5500 feet deep, and the New Zealand geologist said at least 10,000 feet was necessary.[20] In [643] connection with future oil exploration plans, His Majesty King Taufa'ahua Tupou IV flew to Saudi Arabia in June of 1974. At hat time he also visited the Arabian Gulf oil state of Bahrain, and in March of 1975 His Majesty revisited Bahrain. In 1975, an American-based oil company became actively engaged in Tonga, and work continues.

CONCLUSIONS

178 457 What is the social and economic impact of tourism on Tonga? The benefits continue to outweigh, by a narrow margin, the negative aspects of tourism. Tourism in Tonga must not, however, be singled out and examined apart from other aspects of Tongan life, for it is closely bound to them. Too much tourism might well destroy what the tourists go to experience: the peace, graciousness, and beauty of a Polynesian island. Signs of deterioration of everyday life in Tonga which can be laid directly or indirectly to increased tourism [735] are already evident. Some Tongan children now beg from the tourists at the major tourist attractions. Pros- [548] titution and homosexuality are increasing.[21] Drunken- [838] ness is the major source of the increasing crime in the [674] Kingdom. Tongans have been evicted from their own [273] International Dateline Hotel for drunkenness in order to "protect the image of the Kingdom in the eyes of the tourist.[22] Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry 178 674 are increasing. In 1973, there were 427 convictions for theft in the Kingdom, an increase of 23 percent over 1972.[23] In 1972, the Tongan Criminal Investigation Division preferred fifteen housebreaking and theft charges against two Tongan males who had apparently entered homes and had "stolen good(s) from New Zealand, American, [and] Australian volunteers in [the] Nuku'alofa area."[24] It is not at all unusual for windows on Tongan homes to be heavily barred, and for numerous dogs to be kept in the yards for warning and protection against thieves. Crimes of violence are also increasing, and non-Tongans are frequently attacked by Tongans. Referring to Tonga's growing crime problem, the Tongan Minister of Police said, "In view of population pressures and economic side effects, it is reasonable to predict [625] a future of potential increase of crime."[25] The Tongan

[p. 92-B]

A,B,C,D,E,F,[For footnotes, see p. 93-B--Analyst]

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
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Tonga, and they want to "see" Tonga; but all too often cruise passengers get only a look at a "phony-folk-culture" in action—a Disneyland of the Pacific, so to speak.

The air guests, fewer in number (but staying longer), may have a somewhat different experience. They have the opportunity to enjoy the recreational facilities of a tropical island—swimming, fishing, and snorkeling—and they may also have the opportunity to see more of the island at a gradual pace, to meet some of the truly hospitable Tongans on a person-to-person basis, and to share a truly cross-cultural educational experience. However, the actual experiences of the tourist can be less than this ideal.

Forster (1964, pp. 217-22) pointed out that one of the fascinating aspects of the tourist process in the Pacific is the deliberate creation of a "phony-folk-culture," which the indigenous inhabitants develop to provide "authentic native culture" to the tourists. For example, a popular tourist "attraction" is a display of dances in Tonga: the program may contain almost a dozen Fijian, Tahitian, Hawaiian, or New Zealand dances performed by the Tongan dancers but show only one or two Tongan dances. The fact is granted that a Tahitian *tamure* has a tremendous amount of visual impact, and a Fijian fire dance is dramatic, but Tongan dances have a beauty and symmetry of their own that should be performed for the visitors to Tonga.

It is this alteration of their basic culture that has prompted Tongans to consider legislating the tourist industry. They seek to ensure the active preservation of the traditional Tongan way of life and culture by integrating traditional patterns into mass tourism and not making traditional culture a contemporary "phony-folk-culture."

Other tangible and observable social problems have developed in the Kingdom as a result of the tourist influx: some Tongan children now beg from tourists at the major tourist attractions; prostitution and homosexuality appear to be increasing (not necessarily for the tourists but for the crew members of the cruise ships); tourists are harassed as they walk through city streets and villages; and price-gouging, especially for transportation, is a common complaint.

The substantial amount of quickly-generated cash derived from cruise ship passengers (for an "authentic" Polynesian feast, shore excursions around the island, and the purchase of handicrafts), when placed into circulation in the port towns, can be the occasion for a party. Drinking may commence even before the ship has weighed anchor and drunkenness appears to be a major source of crime. Tongans still enjoy their traditional *kava* drink, but as I have stated elsewhere, when individuals begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, in violation of their Christian ethic, it is an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted. In recent years Tongans have been evicted from their own